38: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
41 AV3 Dard AV3
Chitral

This estimate does not include the tributary tribe of Bushgali Kaffirs, or the subjects of the Yassin ruler, who is independent of Chitral, though the close relationship existing between the two families causes them to act in concert in all important matters. Both rulers pay a tribute of horses, hawks, and hounds to the Maharajah of Cashmere, to whom they acknowledge allegiance. Iron, copper, and orpiment of superior quality are found in Kashkar. Cotton carpets of an inferior kind, which have the peculiarity of being alike on both sides, are made for local use, and Chitral daggers and sword-hilts are in great demand in the neighbouring valleys. Amongst the people of Kashkar, Chitral is constantly pronounced and written Chitrar and Chitlal. This seems to arise from a curious inability[1] to distinguish between the letters *r* and *l*; in this way Koonur becomes Koonul, Punjkorah Punjkolah, the Lowri Pass the Rowli Pass, &c.

The population of Chitral is a curious and intricate ethnological puzzle. The largest section of the population are the Kho, who inhabit the whole of Kashkar Bala, the Ludkho and Arkari Valleys, and the main valley down to Darosh, and have penetrated across the watershed as far as Chashi. They call the country also Kho, dividing it into different sections under the names *Toori*kho (*Upper*), *Mool*kho (*Middle*), and *Lud*kho (*Great*), and their language Khowar. This is the language given by Dr. Leitner under the name of Arnyia, by which it is known to the Shins of Gilgit, who style the Yassin portion of Kashkar Bala Arinah. In sound it is soft and musical.[2] Unlike the Shins and other cognate tribes hitherto mentioned, the existence of these people in the localities in which we now find them appears to date from so far back as virtually to entitle them to be considered aboriginal. They may have once occupied a wider extent of country, but there is no trace of their having conquered or displaced any previous race of inhabitants. They were undoubtedly the owners of the country until a period not very remote, and they have succeeded in imposing their language on the present ruling class, who style them contemptuously "Fakir Mushkin." They are divided into classes of which a few are Toryié, Shiré, Darkhané, and Shohané. No caste distinctions exist among them.

Above them is a large privileged class, which is divided into clans like the Afghan Khels, and spread all over Kashkar.

[1] The *l* and *r* are scarcely distinguishable in the old Persian.—*Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. III. p. 110.

[2] See Appendix H.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AVJ Afghanistan AVJ~~
4: AVJ Dard AVJ Chitral

First in rank comes the Sangallié, Rezaé, Mahomed Begé, and Khush Amadé, who are descended from the common ancestor and founder of the Katooré and Khushwakté families. They are generally spoken of as Shah Sangallié.[1] Next to them come the Zundré, or Ronos, of whom mention has already been made.[2] They are most numerous about Oyon. Below the Zundré comes a large class styled "Ashimadek." Their clans are—

Kashé.	Shaooké.
Atambegé.	Baiyeké.
Dushmunné.	Shighnié.
Ludimé.	Borshintek.
Bairambegé.	Majé.
Koshialbegé.	Jikané.

The term Ashimadek, which signifies "food-givers," is applied to all of these on account of their being bound to supply the ruler and his retainers with food to the extent of eight sheep and eight kherwars of wheat from each house, whenever he passes through their villages. This is the only revenue of any description paid by them to the ruler, and those living in the more remote villages often remain for several years exempt from even this impost. The Shah Sangallié and Zundré are altogether exempt,—the former on account of their relationship to the present ruling family, and the latter because they are descended from a former race of rulers.

Among the Ashimadek, the Shighnié and Kashé claim respectively to come from Shighnan and Kash (Kishm?), a village close to Jirm, in Badakhshan. The names of many of the others show that they trace their descent from some individual, and there appears little doubt that they are the descendants of Tajiks from Badakhshan, who settled in Chitral at the time of the establishment of the present ruling dynasty, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, whose founder they probably accompanied and aided. Their present position is not, however, due to conquest, but they appear to have gradually grown up as a large privileged class. They speak the Khowar language and form the most warlike part of the population.

In the upper part of the Ludkho Valley, above Drooshp, is a race who occupy the same position with regard to the Ashimadek as the Kho do in Kashkar Bala, and who are also styled

[1] See Katooré Genealogy. [2] See page 34.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

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T 197 194 In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174 *The Dard question of West-Tibet.* Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614 (2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis bsamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa sNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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